# WASHINGTON.

«Liberty and Union, new and forever, one and inseparable."

SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 1850.

THE PROPOSED SOUTHERN CONVENTION.

Last Saturday is not so long ago but that our readers may recollect the purport of our remarks upon the Resolutions of the Virginia Legislafure on the subject of a Southern Convention. To these remarks the Richmond Whig and the Richmond Times and Compiler take friendly excep- vention, and the possible ulterior events which, tion, on such grounds as to confirm our impression should it ever assemble, it will foreshadow. We that the Virginia Legislature, as well as the Whig are sensibly flattered by this attention on the part journals at Richmond, have, in guilelessness and absence of suspicion, allowed themselves to be made instrumental in projects of much greater on this subject has been honored by his perusal, if depth, than, judging from the following remarks of not with approbation, yet with grave attention. the "Whig," they seem to be yet aware of, but to We could have hoped no higher success than that which it is high time that they and the People of of which this indication, and some others of equal Virginia open wide their eyes :

#### .. FROM THE RICHMOND WAIG OF TUESDAY.

Now, the whole of this commentary [of the National Intelligencer on the Virginia Resolutions, embracing the Mississippi scheme) proceeds upon a total misconsecution of the of the country, by embalming it in his Speech, the we say. The third resolution, by defining the mode in which a Southern Convention should be constituted, intended to show that the Nashville Convention is not such a body. I draws a contrast between a Convention empowered to act for the State, and one held as that at Nasheille, merely for con- and immovable attachment to the Unity of Governsultation, and without authority to commit any one. To the third resolution there was not a dissenting voice in the Legislature. For all agreed that a Convention to bind, should have the authority of the People in Convention assembled Now, the Nasaville Convention, as shadowed forth by the fifth resolution, possesses no such attribute. It is to be gotten up by any bedy and every body, without the formality of an election; its delegates are restricted rigidly to means for preserving the Union; they pay their own expenses; and their acts cannot in any event have any binding force upon the State. It is a mere safety-valve to let off the redundant steam of the factious, if it cannot be rendered subservient to some useful purpose.

We copy the third and fifth resolutions, that the reades may mark the contrast.

The third resolution defines what a real Southern Convention should be, as follows:

3. Resolved, That, in the opinion of this General Assembly, a Southern Convention, in which the States, as States, are represented, should consist of delegates selected by the people of the several States in Convention assembled, who should carry with them all the authority derived from such an appointment, and be prepared to act for those whom they re-

The Nashvilte Convention is a totally different thing from this. It is the creature of primary assemblies, without the intervention of the ballot box-and carries no authority with it. The third resolution was designed to expose the insignificance of the Convention spoken of in the fifth resolution. This was the object of its author-it was so understood by

Really ! a most ingenious contrivance ! The resolution No. 3 is intended only to "draw a contrast!" If it means no more than that, what business has it there? Not that it is so much matter of surprise to find, in a series of Resolutions of a Virginia Legislature, one that is a mere abstraction; but, as has been said of the fly in amber, the wonder is. not that it is there, but how the d-l it got there? The "Whie" states, as if with knowledge, the object of the author of that Resolution: and eertainly we have not the presumption to call in question any statement which the "Whig" knowingly makes. But the "Whig" itself must admit that there is an extraordinary coincidence-at least as wonderful as that of the accident of Sam Wel- niac spirit of discord that is now breathing pestilence in every ler's father's overturning into a canal a coach-load of voters on the very day and at the very spot at which he had the day before been offered a twenty pound bank note to do it-between the suggestions of the Mississippi Address and the action of the Virginia Legislature, in its Resolution No. 3, in connexion with those which precede and follow it. Let us again compare them:

The Mississippi Address says:

"The Convention of Mississippi suggests, as the possible ultimate resort, the call, by the Legislatures of the assailed States, of still more solemn · Conventions-such as should be regularly elected by the People of those States-to deliberate. speak, AND ACT with all the sovereign power of the People. Should, in the result, such Conventions be called and meet, they may lead to a · like regularly constituted Convention of all the assailed States, to provide, in the last resort, FOR THEIR SEPARATE WELFARE, by the formation of A

COMPACT AND A UNION," &c.
The second Resolution of the Virginia Legislature states circumstances in the event of which that State "WILL BE PREPARED TO UNITE with her sister slaveholding States," [to wit, the "assailed States" in Convention [that is, "a Convention of all the assailed States' aforesaid or otherwise, in ANY measures that may be necessary to " provide FOR THEIR MUTUAL DEFENCE OR TO SECURE THEIR COM-MON SAFETY." This resolution is most obviously the mere echo of the recommendation of the Mis-

sissippi Convention. The third Resolution is merely the iteration of the declaration in the Mississippi Address, that the "Southern Convention" which it proposes "should consist of delegates selected by the People of the several States in Convention assembled, with all the authority derived from such an appointment, and be prepared to ACT for those whom they represent;" that is to say, for the respective States which are to "form a Union and a Compact," &c.

The fourth Resolution of the Virginia Legislature-which the "Whig," in taking the position that the third Resolve was only designed to "draw a a contrast," seems wholly to have overlookedprovides the modus operandi, the manner in which the State Convention (which the third describes) shall be called and elected, and provides for the pay and mileage of the delegates thereto, so as to make the whole scheme embraced in Resolutions 2, 3, and 4 consistent and definitive, and to place far as Whigs are concerned, we could quote columns of proof the matter beyond the future reach or control of from the Press of simost "every other Southern State" that the Legislature.

If the object of the third resolution be only to " draw a contrast," what on earth is the use of all this machinery? What the necessity of providing for the election of Delegates to "a Southern Convention," without the intermediation of the People. " and for paying them at the same rate as Members of the General Assembly" are paid for attendance and mileage?

What could the Legislature of Virginia have been about when it suffered itself to be entrapped into sentinel on the watchtower dreaming of, when he steal this march upon the Capitol of the Ancient be dispelled.

Editor had, when these Resolutions were upon the tapis, never heard of the Address of the Mississippi Convention to the People of the Southern States.

Nor had we. But that somebody at Richmond

embedded in the people to be shaken by ordinary tempests. They cannot endure the idea of looking upon man ever did set up before—a claim that two-thirds of the unany tempests. They cannot endure the idea of looking upon the broken columns of the fair temple, gared at the exp me union, in population and in wealth, should either contrive to of so much blood, and endeared to them by the recollection of so much blood, and endeared to them by the recollection of so may glorious achievements.

But if the Northern agitators will persist in their aggressiance of power and glory, where we man ever did set up before—a claim that two-thirds of the Union, in population and in wealth, should either contrive to of so much blood, and endeared to them by the recollection of so much blood, and endeared to them by the recollection of the contrive to of so much blood, and endeared to them by the recollection of the contrive to of so much blood, and endeared to them by the recollection of the contrive to of so much blood, and endeared to them by the recollection of so much blood, and endeared to them by the recollection of the contrive to of so much blood, and endeared to them by the recollection of the contrive to the remaining one-third an equal political tracted notions of Southern supremacy, in the event of a separation, the miserable state of the population and in wealth, should either contrive to reckieve did set up before—a claim that two-thirds of the man ever did set up before—a claim that two-thirds of the man ever did set up before—a claim that two-thirds of the man ever did set up before—a claim that two-thirds of the man ever did set up before—a claim that two-thirds of the man ever did set up before—a claim that two-thirds of the man ever did set up before—a claim that two-thirds of the man ever did set up before—a claim that

FOOTE, of Mississippi, did us the honor, on the oc- propriate than it would be at present. casion of presenting to the Senste on Thursday certain Resolutions of the Mississippi Legislature, to comment upon the course of the National Intelligencer in regard to the proposed Nashville Conof the distinguished Senator; because, in the first place, it satisfies us that what we have published value, have apprized us; that is to say, that our articles upon the great topic of the day have been generally read. We are further gratified, in that the honorable Senator has placed upon the records bject designed by the Virginia resolutions. We know what fact, that the Editors of this paper-who, as he very justly intimates, have grown gray in the public service-have not been wanting in the duty, at this trying moment, of cherishing a cordial, habitual, ment which constitutes us one People; of watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety: of suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned: and of frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of the country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

> We place before our readers, in the subjoined extracts from the Southern and Southwestern newspapers, without distinction of party-without any, at least, of our making-satisfactory evidence (we are happy to say) that the sentiment of the South, so far from being universal, is not even common, in the Union.

> > FROM THE LOUISVILLE JOURNAL.

Why was Washington so trusted and so honored while living, and why has he been so reverenced since the shadow of death fell upon his earthly vision? Simply because f the wisdom and moral greatness he displayed, so far supe rior to the wisdom and greatness of other men. He exhibit these sublime features of his charater as the leader of the revoutionary forces, as a private citizen, and especially as Chief Magistrate of the nation whose independence he had periled life and fortune to secure.

It is but natural to suppose that the countrymen of such the wisdom of the great sage of the Chinese is reverenced by the people whose forefathers he instructed. But is this so? Le

he present distracted condition of our country answer. The truth is, the violent men of the different factions which this wretched country is now divided care nothing for the counsel of Washington. They trample that counsel unde their feet with all the remorselessness of devils. To carry out their accursed sectional and pitiful schemes they would displace the statue of Washington from its niche, and wreck the great empire whose corner-stone was laid by his hand. No man who is plotting the destruction of this glorious Union-no man who is recklessly striving to produce jealousy and discord-cares what becomes of the fame of Vashington. They only care for the renown of the greatest of men who direct their steps by the light of his example, and are willing to be guided by his advice. Did not his mighty prescience assure him of the coming

house of wisdom, his Farewell Address, with particular reference to the present agitation? How he rebuked the demothe National Legislature.

If Washington were reverenced at home as he ought to be, treason would not now have a votary. If disunion should come, with its black midnight of storm and disaster, it will be because the people have repudiated the counsels of this great man. If this mighty Confederacy is shattered, to which por-tion of the ruptured and mangled States will the fame of Washington belong' In such an event the people of foreign nations, truer to him than his own countrymen, will rescue his fame from the destruction which would await all sacred things here, and build temples for him and for his worship on their

FROM THE PICKENS (ALABAMA) REPUBLICAN. All agree that a dissolution of our happy Union would be the most awful of calamities. It would be the token of untold evil to the world. It would crush the hopes of the struggling millions of the old world, and be the signal for anarchy in the new. It would be hailed as the dawn of a jubilee fo tyrants and despots. We are for harmony, compromise, peace, moderation, and union; instead of stirring up the an gry passions of men, we are for allaying all undue excite-ment. Look into the United States Senate, and see the calmness and equanimity of our wisest statesmen of both the South and the North. Let us take a lesson from these sages and the Nashville Convention, Hon. Robert Strange and G. J.

PROM THE MAURY (TENNESSEE) INTELLIGENCER. "Why is it that the Whigs of Tennessee seem avers

to the Southern Convention, when their party friends in every other Southern State are entering into the measure, advocating its propriety, and urging its necessity?"

[Tennessee Democrat.
We really hope our new neighbor will be a little mor areful in its implications. We are somewhat curious to see what proof can be furnished that the broad and unqualified assertion implied in the above question has any foundation fact. We should like, moreover, to see some proof that the people-the masses-of either party, "in every other Southern State," are urging the necessity of the measure re ferred to. So far as our observation goes, the burden of proof is all the other way. Does not our neighbor know that even the Mississippi Con-

vention, which proposed the Southern Convention, required no little political midwifery to bring it into existence; that the first attempt was a complete failure; that the result of the second effort was that only thirty out of sixty counties in that State were represented, and that a large portion of those thirty counties were represented by alternates or proxies, single individuals acting for several counties, and that the whole Convention, all told, did not exceed sixty-five persons? And even among these, there was considerable disagreement.

Does that look as if the people of Mississippi, even, of either party, were very "urgent" in regard to this Convention?

And where is the evidence that the people of either party "in every other Southern State" are so very "urgent We have seen none of it. Individual exceptions-" few and far between, like angels' visits," and these too not particularinfluential-constitute no foundation for such an assertion that of our neighbor, but rather the very reverse. So they desire to have no part in this Southern Conventionthat they consider it premature, uncalled for, and of a dangerous tendency in the present posture of affairs.

FROM THE VIRGINIA PREE PRESS.

THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION. - The necessity of this Convention, if it ever really existed, is now at an end. The peo-ple of Virginia have not responded to the call, nor is it likely hat they will prematurely engage in a measure of doubtful expediency at best.

It will be recollected that one of the resolutions passed by

the Legislature only signified a readiness to join in such a Convention in the event of the passage by Congress of the Wilmot proviso, or of an act abolishing slavery in the District about when it suffered itself to be entrapped into of Columbia. Neither of these contingencies is likely to arise, such a snare as this? And what was the Whig great body of the people feel a confidence that the agitating and exciting questions of the day will be amicably settled, and allowed the party disaffected to the Union to the clouds which lately lowered so darkly over the Union will

For our own part, we never had the slightest fear of the Ominion?

Safety of the Union. It is not in the power of the restless spirits, North and South, to break it up. It is too deeply embedded in the hearts of the people to be shaken by ordi-

the People of Virginia, as they have done, to every part of the scheme.

Our readers will have seen that Mr. Senator

Long, and open a direct trade with the out-first and open a direct trade with the southern that Mr. and open a direct trade with the six and open a dire

FROM THE TUSCALOOSA (ALARAMA) MONITOR. We firmly believe that the sentiment most deeply engraved upon the American heart is an abiding love, an unfaltering votion for our glerious Union. No efforts of politicis and panic-makers have ever brought the people to contempla the discolution of the Union with other feelings than thou

of abhorrence and dismay. This feeling is gathering strength daily, or, more correctly speaking, recent events have called forth a more open display of its power. "The Union is in danger!" is a cry that has startled every patriot, and caused him, like the Israelite of old, o turn his eyes anxiously towards the Ark of his Safety-the sanctuary of his hopes.

There is no name so potent, no leader so revered, as to be able to stand for a moment in opposition to this all powerful sentiment of the American people. This is fully verified by the indignant response which, even here in the outraged South, has been drawn forth by the declaration lately attributed to Mr. Caihoun, that the dissolution of the Union is inevitable and is DESTRABLE! We venture to asser that this does not truly express the feelings or the wishes of one in ten-thousand of the people of the South. In the direful alternative of disunion or dishonor, the South will not hesitate to choose the first, but we do not believe there is one see that alternative presented.

FROM THE PLORENCE (ALABAMA) ENQUIRER. THE NASHVILLE CONVENTION .- The remarks of th Huntaville Advocate upon the arrogant assumption of power by the recent Legislative caucus are excellent, and will meet

with the approbation of every sensible reader. Every demonstration tending to concentrate the power he South, in constitutional resistance to grievances discountenancing whatever might suggest even a by the North, we cordially approve; and hence we have anticipated that much good might result from the Nativille Convention. But the conviction is fast gaining ground that the main subject for discussion in that body will be plans for dis-union, and this conviction is founded upon the character of the men who are originators of it, and those who have been appointed delegates to it. The persons who ought to comse such a Convention should be men free from what is called ultraism, men of discretion and sound patriotism, and they hould be selected by the people. Now, we ask our reads if this Convention will be composed of these kind of men, and have they had a voice in their appointment? We think, if they judge the whole by a part, if they reason by andogy, if they judge from those who have been appointed from section of the State, they will say, no. These gentlemer are eminent and worthy citizens, but, according to our knowledge as to some and information as to others, they may well be suspected of "ultraism." At all events, the people have that the Southern States cannot with honor remain had no hand in their appointment, and if such a mighty event as disunion is to transpire, it should be done by people's representatives.

#### FROM THE SELMA (ALABAMA) REPORTER.

THE NASHVILLE CONVENTION .- We see less and less every day to admire in the proposed Nashville Convention, and we believe it will meet with no countenance from the people of Alabama. The Wilmot proviso has been voted down large majorities in the House, and there is no danger o'its being passed through the Senate. What, then, is the object of the Convention? What will it have to do when assimoled ' A rabid, nullifying organ in Columbia, South Caroman would treasure every word of the wisdom he uttered as a lina, the South Carolinian, says that "the organization of a most sacred deposite—that they would reverence it more than Presidential party, and the adoption of a candidate, is to be considered an appropriate end and summary of the deliberations of the Convention;" and Judge Heydenfeldt, in his letter to Gen. Brisbane, thinks the country has outgrown the present constitution, and that the Convention ought to 'form a new constitution." We believe, if that Convention ever assembles, a large portion of the delegates will go into it with just such objects as the South Carolinian and Judge Heydenfeldt wow. The Wilmot proviso and the so-called "kindred measures" have been made by the enemies of the nion in the South mere pretexts under which to rally and loak their real designs. Dr. Johnson uttered the bitter paradox, that "patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel;" and, if our Union is ever torn in pieces, it will be done by demagogues, who, with professions of love on their lips, will

> That Convention, in its very conception, was unconstitu . If the avowed objects of this Convention-to say nothing of secret ones of a darker hue-are not contrary o the constitution, then no plain man need hereafter under take to interpret the plainest clause in that instrument.

The people of Alabama are loyal to the Union; and State in the Union. How he rebuked the foul treason that very much mistake their character if they lend their sanction now dares to rear its viper head and hiss even in the halls of the National Legislature. acred bond which holds it together.

## FROM THE MISSISSIPPI " SOUTHRON."

There is a complete revolution going on in the relative position of members of Congress and the people. Formerly the People commanded and the Representatives obeyed; but now the latter issue their rescripts from the Federal city, suggest themes for sectional excrement, and expect the people to reecho their views in such a way as to corroborate the assumption that all their vagaries as Congressmen are but the reflex of public sentiment among a confiding constituency! If the ultra sectional excitement, unfortunately now so prevalent, could be only traced to its source, the corn-fields and cotton fields, the mechanics' shops and the merchants' counting rooms would in a great degree be found guiltless; while to the wily demagogue and calculator of political chances at both ends of the Union could be traced most of the unhealthy excitement which, drowning the voice of reason and patriotsm, has made compromise almost an impossibility.

## FROM THE RALEIGH (S. C.) REGISTER.

We stated in our last that at the Convention which assem-McRae, Esq. were selected to represent that district in said Convention. We learn further that delegates were appointed to a Convention to meet in Raleigh some time during next month, the object of which is to appoint delegates for the State at large.

Now, we truly regret these proceedings. We lament to see any portion of the good people of North Carolina acting with such precipitate haste. Besides, we most seriously protest, as a citizen of the State, against so much of the action of the Wilmington Convention as relates to the holding of a State Convention in Raleigh in April next. We object to this, for one, because we have seen no manifestations on the part of the citizens generally of a desire to have such a Convention; and, moreover, had they shown themselves favorable to such a course of proceeding, they would not have sufficient time to take the needful steps for a proper organization of the Convention—one, we mean, that would properly represent

We are sorry that the conservative principle recommended in the report of the minority of the committee appointed to draw up resolutions expressive of the sense of the Convention, submitted by D. G. McRee, Esq., of Fayetteville, was not adopted. This report recommended the true line of policy for the South, and presented a ground broad enough for all Southern men to stand on.

FROM THE BATON-ROUGE GAZETTE OF MARCH 9. Some of the members of Congress, as well from the North

as from the South, carry their violent opposition so far that we do not believe they could be persuaded to compromise the matter on any terms; in their phrenzy they forget the duty they owe to the country, to their constituents—nay, to them-selves and their families. We have no doubt some of them will never again be returned to create confusion instead of endeavoring to maintain order. Let the North be satisfied with attending to their own affairs, and the South defend and protect the rights and privileges they now enjoy. But we deem it the right of Territories to be admitted into the Confederacy, with a constitution of their choice, as long as it is not incons tent with the provisions of the grand instrument under which we have so happily prospered up to this time—the Constitu-tion of the United States.

FROM THE FAYETTEVILLE (N. C.) OBSERVER.

To the exclusion of much else, we insert the speech of Mr. Calhoun, which had been expected with so much interest by all parts of the country. Perhaps no man's views upon any subject had ever been looked for with more intense anxiety. They are here stated with great ability and plainness. And with like plainness we add, that, in our opinion, they are such ultra views as cannot possibly be responded to by the other section of the Union, and we fear it was neither expected nor desired by the author that they should be so responded to. To say nothing for the present of other objectionable points. t may safely be affirmed that an amendment of the constitu tion-we are inclined to say any amendment; but certainly an amendment restoring to the South the equal power she possessed before the North and West became so much more populous than herself-can never be obtained. It is utterly out of the question. We go further and say, that it is a claim which the South ought not to set up, and which no Southern

know, was first authoritatively made in Mississippi. But we presume nobedy is so green as to imagine that it originated there. pressume nobedy is so green as to imagine that it originated there. No. We have no shadow of doubt that the action of Mississippi was prompted from South Carolina. And sow, in Mr. Calhoun's speech, we have a revelation of the purpose for which the Convention is to assemble. It is to demand impracticable and impossible concessions, with no hope of their being granted, and with a purpose and declaration that if not granted the South will secede from the Union.

Now, for one, we are opposed to all this. We mean to have no lot nor part in it. And we warn the people of North Carolina of the danger that impends. There was a time when we entertained less fears of that Convention; when we hoped that the sober good sense of North Carolina might be felt in it for good. This hope was weakened by the violence of some of its advocates, who, however, spoke only their own

of some of its advocates, who, however, spoke only their own feelings. It is now destroyed by the demands of one who speaks, in advance, the feelings and purposes of the Convention itself. We wish the rights of the Seuth respected as much as Mr. Calhoun can, but we are not for disunion per se.

## FROM THE CAMBRIDGE (MARYLAND) CHRONICLE.

It is particularly gratifying, at this momentous period our history, to witness the spirit of loyalty to our institutions, and the pure patriotism which seems to pervade our entire land. Since the agitation of the "vexed question" in Congress, all the States in the Union, we believe, have given hesitate to choose the first, but we do not believe there is one some striking manifestation of their attachment to the American out of South Carolina, and but few in it, who desire to can Union. And, judging from the tone and spirit of the press generally, we should think that the factionists all over the country must have been aware, long since, of the contempt and detestation into which they have fallen by calculating coldly the value and threatening the dissolution of a republic like this. When we speak of factionists, we mean those agitators from the South as well as the North (for w see much to condemn in both) who are eternally uttering their treasonable cries of disunion, disunion, and who are un willing to sacrifice any thing for the sake of a fair compro mise. We shall continue to hold these craven spirits up to the scorn and destation of a patriotic constituency, believing that there is yet a cord of unity and brotherhood sufficiently strong to bind together the hardy New Englander and the chivalric son of the South.

We know there is a prevailing sentiment here at the Sout that the North is aggressive—that she seeks to annihilate the institutions of the South. This is undoubtedly the case with few agitators, who seem to have more sympathy for the ne gro race than for the American Union or any thing else. Bu with the mass of the Northern people the case is quite differ ent. They are as loyal and have as much attachment for the American Union as any other citizens living under ou constitution, as evidenced by the proceedings of their Legislatures, public meetings, &c.

We of the South are similarly situated. We have ou agitators as well as the North, but we can never endorse their entiments without approving of the course of Benedict Arnold in the Revolution. We mean to stand by this Union at all hazards, believing it to be the greatest inheritance ever equeathed from sire to son.

FROM THE ATHENS (TENN.) POST OF MARCH 15.

NASHVILLE CONVENTION .- We may be mistaken, but we think feelings of delicacy should decide all sensible, not to say sensitive men, not to attend the Convention at our Capitol The Legislature voted their unwillingness to such a meeting to be neld within our borders. The press, in many instances, have bitterly protested against the measure, and there is strong eason to think that three-fourths of our citizens condemn the violent course pursued by those who called the Convention. Surely, then, those who still wish to convene at Nashville are not actuated by courtesy and polite bearing, although it might, man's house for the purpose of devising plans to separate him and his wife. If the object of the Conventionists is, as has been dleged, disunion, we would say, while the people of Lower East Tennessee have not the least objection to intimate asso ciation with Southern men, even of the ultra school, they earnestly protest against a visit to their Capitol for such sacrilegious purposes. We are all for the Union.

### FROM THE LYNCHBURG VIRGINIAN.

A STEP TOWARDS MONARCHY .- The constitution of the Inited States embodies a model form of government. It is based upon the principles of civil liberty; is republican in its spirit, and regards the independence of the people as the highest and greatest gift of government. The framers of the onstitution have established a republic, but not without endowing it with a republican form of government. This form of government approaches as near to perfection as any system which has heretofore been devised by man. Its operations prove its efficacy and demonstrate the inutility of a ultimate success. Hence we are not destitute of attempts to infringe upon the constitution, and we have no unfrequent manifestations of the desire for change.

The constitution is a chart of a well-devised plan of gov ernment. A government in which the distinction between anarchy and independece is recognised; and the provisions of which are directed to the suppression of the one and the maintenance of the other. And its operations have preserved the independence of the people, and at the same time prevented the approach towards anarchy. The framers of the constitution have proceeded upon a clearly and accurately defined distinction between the rights of the people and the power of the rulers. Its provisions secure to the people the exercise of their rights, and at the same time endow the rulers with all just and essential powers. The difference between monarchy and anarchy is clearly drawn, and the distinction is fully sustained. The provisions made are between the two. They provide for rule, but make that rule sufficient only for the promotion of the great end of government—the people's good. A careful investigation of the provisions of the constitution will exhibit the excellencies of the system, and convince us that it claims the only possible distinction between monarchy and anarchy, and that a departure from its requisitions will entail upon us the oppression of the one or the evils of the other. And every innovation upon a material provision, every alteration of a fundamental principle has either been a step towards monarchy or a progressive

move towards anarchy.

The course pursued by Mr. Calhoun is proof of the assertion. He proposes a change in the constitution. One of the grounds of change consists in the fact that there have been disunionists in the church. The churches of the North having grown more powerful than those of the South, have been enabled to succeed in their measures, and the secession of the South has been the consequence. From this is inferred a similar result in the State. This is making of the church a criterion. Let church operations be regarded by the legislators of the nation as a criterion from which to derive our ideas of national actions, and the course of the church becomes a precedent. Yea! more. Admit that the course of the church is a criterion, let the church know that its action is recognised as such, and we arm the church with power to influence the whole legislation of the country. We virtually incorporate it with the State, and, though not formally, we unite Church and State. Permit the church to gain the ascendency so far, and there is but one step to be made; there will be but one struggle among the sects and the monar-chical policy of instituting State religion will ensue. This will be the most fatal blow which it is possible to inflict upon civil liberty. Church united with State, there is but one step to monarchy, and from monarchy to despotism but an-other; all of which point with unerring certainty to the ultimate reign of anarchy. We speculate upon the result, but do not fear an endorsement of the views of Mr. Calhoun. We point to it as an exemplification of the ultraism of his views, and as a proof of the efficacy and superiority of our

## FROM THE NEW ORLEANS REE.

It is a maxim of profound significance that "fools rush in where angels fear to tread," and the experience of mankind in questions of portentous magnitude, affecting whole commu-nities, affords a thousand practical illustrations of its truth. Demagogues and fanatics, weak-minded and passionate men prate glibly and flippantly of disunion; profess themselves ready for the experiment; and undertake coolly to demonstrate, by mathematical calculation, how much better off we might be with a Confederacy shivered into tragments. The sage and the patriot, happy in our present bond of glorious union, proud of our position among the Powers of the earth as a free and mighty people, beholding with exultation our daily pro-gress in all the elements of national strength and social and political aggrandizement, seek not to penetrate beyond the gloomy veil that would encompass a dismembered Confederacy, and shudder from the task of estimating how tolerable might be our condition were this vast homogeneous democracy to be separated into two or more hostile, or at least discordan

It is a trite remark, that if man were surrounded with every possible source of happiness, he would still yearn for change. He would pine in the midst of luxury, and grow restless and unsatisfied though the genii of the Ring and the Lamp were obedient to his most capricious behests. Upon no other conceivable principle can we explain the folly and madness of those who, while enjoying the proudest position the world can offer, still sigh for something different; who, while feeling instinctively that a severance of the Union would assuredly precipitate us from the pinnacle of power and glory, where w

trumpet announcing the end of time; an event second only in importance to the citizens of the United States to the final destruction of the universe. Yet each man, in this region of country at least, is quietly pursuing his ordinary avocation, tilling his fields, following his profession or trade, buying, selling, and getting gain, without the least apprehension, apparently, of impending evil.

The fact is, the People of the South have no idea of fol-lowing a few wild politicians in their mad schemes, and without their concurrence this great disaster cannot be realized. They have, to be sure, felt aggrieved at the course pursued by the North, and are apprehensive of the evidently progressive tendencies of Northern Abolitionism, but they are not going to commit national suicide in anticipation of wrongs which may be inflicted. One of the resolutions recently adopted by the citizens of Baltimore expresses the sentiment of the large majority in the slaveholding States : as yet we suffer no evils "that would justify disunion, and none that disunion would make better." make better." When some aggressive measure is passed by Congress they will look to the Constitution for redress; when that fails to protect, and not till then, will they seek other remedies. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

THE NASHVILLE CONVENTION .- We are glad to perceive the indications that the proposition to assemble a sectional convention at Nashville does not meet with such encouragement as perhaps the suggestors of it hoped. From the proceedings had on the subject in the Legislatures of Kentucky, Maryland, and Tennessee, it may be confidently asserted that no authorized representatives will appear from those States; nor does it seem probable that more than two or three States will appoint delegates. In this state of facts, we take it for granted the whole scheme will be, as it should be, abandoned. The idea of assembling conventions to declare what should be done in a certain contingency, which may never happen, unwise and impolitic, inconsistent with good taste, and in-impatible with the spirit of republican institutions. It will s unwise and impolitic, inc

be time enough to act when any aggression needs to be re-pelled. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. But if Congress should do what the Nashville Conventionists profess to fear, their mode of resistance is not the legitimate or proper one. The constitution of the Government furnishes itself a better and truer remedy for all wrongs. It s the power of the Judiciary. To its decisions all loyal on and the Union will bow who love the constitu with cheerful acquiescence. Violence, nullification, and disunion are not remedies for alleged grievances, but perpetraions of new wrongs, and are all to be rejected.

FROM "THE EAGLE AND BULLETIN" (ROME, GEORGIA.) We were present and participated in the meeting in Floyd ounty, though we did not vote for the preamble and resolutions. We do not believe that the proposed Southern Convention will meet at Nashville, or any where else; nor do we believe that it should. We believe, and every day have increased reason to believe, that the objects of those who set the matter on foot were evil, and evil only. But, in the event that it should meet, we wish to be represented, and that by men who will stand to the Union, and oppose every measure which may have for its object a dissolution. We have no objections that the people should meet in Convention and consult upon the best means of maintaining our rights-indeed we applaud the course whenever it is done in the prope spirit. But when a Convention is heralded by threats of dis union and a vaunting of chivalry on the part of those to be represented, we think it nothing but right that we should claim assurances of the purity of their intentions, before we commit ourselves in favor of their assemblage, or make ourelves responsible for their acts by forwarding the project,

while ignorant of their design.

The people, nineteen-twentieths of them, stand ready at all times to support and defend the constitution, their own rights, and the Union of the States, equally against all encroachment, and against all enemies, under whatever clime they may reside, or to whatever faction they may belong. And hence the necessity that great care should be exercised by those who nominate delegates to the Southern Convention that none be nominated except those who are, beyond cavil, loyal to the Constitution and the Union

FROM THE TESCHMBIA " WORTH ALABAMIAN. THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION-WHAT ARE ITS OBJECTS We have thus far avoided any specific allusion to the Southern Convention, proposed to be holden at Nashville in June next. The reason of this silence was that we were waiting to ascertain what action was contemplated, and what object

dons prove its emerged and demonstrate the indultry of a parties, are in some shape dissatisfied in relation to this matstraint, but seeks the use of any means which foreshows its ultimate success. Hence we are not destitute of attempts to ultimate success. Hence we are not destitute of attempts to ultimate success. Hence we are not destitute of attempts to under present circumstances, that Convention at Nashville. We appeal to their trust. They do not like the source from which it sprung, nor the management and juggling attending its progress thus far.
Some Democratic editors (who are not under the control of owners, and who entertain some respect for the intelligence of the people) boldly condemn the course pursued by the Legislature, in appointing delegates to that Convention without consulting their constituents. This last we consider a matter of sulting their constituents. This last we consider a secondary importance. The gentlemen selected as delegates, secondary importance. The gentlemen selected as delegates, whigh and a large portion of the Democrats in the Southern as far at least as we have any knowledge, are unexception—States holding aloof from the proposed Convention, an atable : and if the State is under the necessity of "going it blind," they are probably as worthy of being trusted as any that could be selected.

The subject of the Southern Convention has been fully and widely discussed, both in Congress, State Legislatures, by the press, and letter writers; yet, in all our readin upon the subject we have seen but two opinions advanced by persons favoring the scheme. The "South Caroinian," of Columbia, S. C., a hot nullification paper, and devoted admirer of Mr. Calhoun, a short time since article upon the proposed Convention, held the following

The organization of a Presidential party and the adop tion of a candidate is to be considered an appropriate end

Judge Heydenselt, of this State, in a recent letter to Gen. Brisbane, of South Carolins, (which letter has been published extensively by Democratic papers in Alabama, and re ferred to in laudatory terms,) says that the object of the Nashville Convention is to "form a new Constitution of the United States of North America.

#### FROM THE KNOXVILLE (TENN.) REGISTER. THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION .- A good deal of inquiry

being made in different portions of the South as to the object of the proposed Convention of the slaveholding States at Nash ville in June next. The people have heretofore been assured that the object of the Convention was to devise the "mode and measure of redress" to be adopted by the Southern States, in case the Wilmot proviso, or kindred measures, should be adopted by Congress and receive the sanction of the President. But it seems to be conceded now that the Wilmot provis cannot pass either House of Congress. What action is it to take and what measures recommend, when the contingency which it was called to provide for will not, in all human probability, happen? WHY IS THIS MATTER KEPT SO PRO FOUND A SECRET ! Does not this very fact show that there is something behind the curtain, something not Mentioned IN THE PROGRAMME, which it is desired to accomplish by the Convention? Is there not some ection to be taken by the convention, of which it is deemed advisable not to inform the people in advance, lest they should, in their opposition to on in every shape and form while they are secure in their rights, frown down a movement which may end in evil and evil only? Such a convention as that proposed to be held at Nashville is fraught with important consequences, for good or for evil, and if the former is intended by its advocates, there should be no concealment as to its purposes. Every thing which it is intended to accomplish should be explicitly stated, that the people who are truly and legitimately the conservators of the republic may be led into nothing that is wrong, or withhold their sanction from that which is clearly right. right. This the friends of the proposed convention have failed to do, and it has created a suspicion in the minds of hundreds and thousands of the honest patriotic men of the South that DISUNION lurks at the bottom of the movement. And how could it be otherwise ' Could sane men-men who are proverbial for their rashness and impetuosity in relation to "Southern rights"—expect to get up a great convention, composed of delegates representing one half of the people of this confederacy, without stating in the most explicit manner the objects sought to be accomplished, and still not excite suspicion as to the correctness of their motives? Such an idea would be preposterous, and would argue but little in favor of the shrewdness of those concerned in the movement, or of their estimate of the intelligence of the people who were expected to join heartily in the furtherance of their obwere expected to join heartily in the furtherance of their object. But there are some facts connected with this movement in favor of a convention of the slaveholding States, some incidents brought to light by the action of the friends of the proposed assemblage, with which the people should be made thoroughly acquainted, and which they should weigh well before they give their sanction to a movement which may end not only in a dissolution of the Union, but in a civil war, that the last state Government according to their own views, and apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient number of apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient number of apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient number of apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient cause. The people of California have a right to form a State Government according to their own views, and apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient rounder of apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient number of apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient cause. The people of California have a right to form a State Government according to their own views, and apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient number of apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient rounder apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient cause. The people of California have a right to form a State Government according to their own views, and apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient number of apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient number of apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient number of apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient number of apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient number of apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient number of apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient number of apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient number of apply for admission whenever they have a sufficient number of apply for admission whenever they have a not only in a dissolution of the Union, but in acryl war, that a dissolution of the Union, but in acryl war, that a dissolution of freedom, that may extinguish the last hope further without disregarding constitutional rights ourselves; of a Republican Government.

gratest curse of freedom, that may extinguish the last hope of a Republican Government.

One fact which should be brought prominently before the people is, that the proposed Convention, if it ever assembles, will be composed of all sorts of material, and who will undertake to say that rash, ambitious, and designing men, by the preponderating weight of numbers, will not adopt such a "mode of resistance" and "manner of redress" as will invented by the consequence.

We cannot sustain the call of a Convention upon the happening of this last contingency; and we therefore call upon evitably dissolve the Union or greatly impair its strength?

was in possession of the programme contained in that Address, looking to a Southern Confederacy that Address, looking to a Southern Confederacy that Address, looking to a Southern Confederacy that the possible will ultimate result of the Nashville.

Convention, there can be no doubt. It is not possible, otherwise, that they could have committed the Prople of Virginia, as they have done, to every part of the scheme.

Sions, there are various other methods of retaliation, less extended power. But it is propositions as the possible will probably have animportant fabricy, and open a direct trade with the old world. In a word, the Prople of Virginia, as they have done, to every part of the scheme.

Sions, there are various other methods of retaliation, less extended power. But it is propositions as the possible will probably have animportant fabricy, and open a direct trade with the old world. In a word, the extract which we have made from his reply to dir. Footometric our corn, wheat, and theorem will probably have animportant fabricy, and open a direct trade with the old world. In a word, the extract which we have made from his reply to dir. Footometric our corn, wheat, and there are the consequences of insolution.

From the scheme and sea simply ridiculous, if not positively evil will render the efforts of the good and the great, who dissolution.

From the scheme and sea the consequences of right and gainst start above the consequences of right and gainst start above the consequences of right and gainst start and the cause of right and the convention ever meet, the people may real assured that cannot or will not calmly contemplate the consequences of dissolution.

From the scheme and sea the convention ever meet, the people may real assured that the extract which we have made from his reply to dir. Footometric our corn for the Clinon have been frequently will descent the issue since the convention ever meet, the people may real assured that cannot or will not calmly content the efforts of the good and the great, prudent, discreet men in that convention, but who will un-dertake to say that their counsel will prevail? What assur-ance have the people that there will not be in that convention those who are in favor of a dissolution of the Union, and who will leave no effort untried to accomplish that object?

At the present time there is more to be feared from the

action of the proposed convention than from the united efforts of all the abolitionists in the country. The very fact of the convention being held would exert an injurious inluence upon the slaves of the South; and that would stimulate the abolitionists to renewed exertions in their neferious operations. Already are the abolitionists preparing for the onslaught, and they propose to hold an opposition Convention at Buffalo, New York, at the same time the Southern Convention is to meet at Nashville. It is well known that the abolitionists are strongly in favor of disunion, and by keeping up a telegraphic communication between Buffalo and Nashville, they may succeed in exasperating the members of the Southern Convention to such an extent as to bring about the very result they desire.

FROM A COMMUNICATION IN THE ATHEMS (ALABAMA) HERALD. Though by no means adverse to a Southern organization, without partisan distinction, for the purpose of embodying, and giving expression to public Southern sentiment, I have never dreamed of a movement contemplating an immediate dissolution of our present Federal Union, and the formation of a new confederation as the primary business of the pro-posed Nashville Convention. Let any lover of our present confederated Government read Judge Heydenfeldt's commu-nication to Gen. Brisbane, and he will, with me, be alarmed. No, no. We are not for such ultra measures yet awhile. A onvention irregularly and hurriedly gotten up, with a simple eference to a Southern party organization in order to repelthe Northern partisan movements, to be vested with powers to abolish the old and substitute an entirely new federal constitution, is a sort of "abolitionism" for which the South is not yet fully prepared. When the people get ready for this radical measure—and sometimes we awfully fear the North will drive them to it eventually—delegates will be selected with a little more circumstance

This really looks like taking the South by surprise for simple partisan consultation and advisement as Southern-ers, and involve us in a radical revolution, a new constitu-tion, and God only knows what, before we had even thought of any sort of action but that of a united remonstrance and partisan organization for a future movement of a more serioue character, if we should eventually be driven to it.

For the purpose of counteracting such disorganizing ultrare anxious than ever that Alabama should be fully represented by her most discreet and able sons.

ROM THE CLARKSVILLE (TENN.) CHBONICLE OF MARCH 2. On our first page will be found an account of the meeting Albemarie county, Virginia; and we rejoice to learn that our native place has put the seal of condemnation upon the second edition of the Hartford Convention, to be held at the capital of our State. The delegates will be hospitably received, but we cannot promise them a welcome; their objects will never receive the sanction of Tennessee, though she stands committed to the unmeaning position of 'all bazards, and to the last extremity.

## FROM THE MEMPHIS (TENN.) EAGLE.

When it is proposed to commit the multiplied concerns of great and powerful States to the action of an irregularly apcointed Convention, common sense naturally puts the qu n of interest. Of what advantage to the Southern States will the Nashville Convention be?

We would answer, of none whatever. The very irregular canner in which that Convention will be assembled, will derive it of much of the weight and importance it might otherwise have. Under no circumstances can it claim to represent the sovereignty of States. State Legislatures and State Executives have not appointed, and will not appoint delegates, with the exception of perhaps two States, South Carolina and Georgia. In other Southern States, if appointed at all, they will be delegated from little county or neighborhood meetings, in which, in all human probability, not one-fifth of the people will participate. But be this as it may, it is certain that the delegations in that Convention, with one or two exceptions, cannot pretend to represent the sovereignty of States. What then will the balance, placed in this notable contrast with one or two exceptions, represent? What, under Heaven, can they pretend to represent? The people of the Southern States?

Will a wrangling Convention, irregularly assembled, ben-A respectable portion of the papers in this State, of both of the constitution and a loss of self-respect? We use no uncompromise, and the spirit of conciliation glows in the Senate as the sacrificial fire burnt of old upon the altars of religion'? We appeal to them to say, if the large majority of the Southern people do not now look confidently for a settlement of all sectional difficulties? We appeal to them to say, if the States holding aloof from the proposed Convention, an attempt to hold it would not prejudice, by a failure, any similar movements, should any unfortunately be necessary? We appeal to them to say, if the Convention would not afford such proof of divided popular sentiment in the Southern States as to weaken their future influence in the councils of the nation, and place us where we should contend feebly, under increased embarassments, with the most melancholy

## PROM THE WHERLING GAZETTE.

For no other curpose than to keep our readers advised of lish Mr. Calhoun's speech, as read in the Senate by Mr. Mason. We dissent from almost every position which it advances. It is inordinate in its demands and impraticable in its suggestions. Its tone is assuming, authoritative, reckless, and characteristic of one whose daring spirit, though it may have aroused and exasperated a multitude, could never lead of control them. It is characteristic of one whose sentiments, however dangerous they may be, cannot incur the charge of concealing them, or of timidity in uttering them. He coolly draws a line of ineffaceable distinctions between two portions draws a line of inclineable distinctions between two portions of a Union whose very existence and vitality is a unity, one and indivisible, and boldly dictates the terms on which this unity shall be maintained, or, on the other hand, by which it shall be dissevered. It is impossible that the terms of the shall be dissevered. It is impossible that the terms of the first proposition—an amendment of the constitution—should be complied with; the other proposition involves a catastrophe which could be contemplated only by a people who have resolved on the extinguishment of their national existence, and with it the last rays of hope to the human race.

FROM THE AMERICAN WHIG, (GRIFFIN, GEORGIA.) We were pained indeed to see and hear the subject of a dissolution of the Union discussed in the newspaper and social circles with so much earnestness, and with such a seeming indifference as to its continuance. And if we were not aware of the influences that have been brought to bear upon the mass of the Democratic party, we should be astonished at the fact that the most ultra notions and measures that favor a dissolution proceed from those who once brooked the storm of compact that binds us together as a people. But the old Union party of Georgia, once the steadfast supporters of the Union, have placed in their lead deserters from the old file of

the nullifiers, until, before many of them are aware of it, they are supporting measures ten-fold more dangerous to the ex Judging from the tone and temper exhibited by several of the leading Democratic papers in Georgia, we are compelled to adopt the conclusion that they really desire a dissolution; and the action of our Legislature on the bill "authorizing and requiring the Governor of the State of Georgia to call a Convention of the people of this State, and to appropriate money therefor," has struck the most fatal blow at the Union that it has ever received since its formation. istence of the Union than nullification ever was.

has ever received since its formation.

The mere calling of such a Convention will put the Union in great danger; for the only object, to be accomplished by such a Convention is to take measures of redress against an act of Congress; and for that reason, no Convention should be called at all, except from dire necessity, and for the most

pressing reasons.

But the calling of a Convention upon the fifth and last contingency—the admission of California as a State—would, in our judgment, be putting the Union in peril without any sufficient cause. The people of California have a right to